■ HOBBIES

Little lead soldiers on parade

Hamburger Abendblatt

Hans Christian Andersen wrote the sad and pretty tale of the tin soldier who fell hopelessly in love with a dancing girl and was melted down with her in the fire until nothing remained of the two but a tiny tin heart and a singed rose of tinsel. In Andersen's day tin figurines were coveted objects among children.

Some of the most famous lead figures came from the Zinn-Composition-Figuren-Fabrik Heinrichsen in Nuremberg. Today, clubs have been formed in many towns and cities, and in the country, where collectors and designers of lead figures meet to discuss their hobby.

The tiny objects are exchanged, or addresses of the makers are made known. More so than addresses or miniatures experience is pooled, for among the fanatics of this hobby the least that is expected of serious collectors is that they paint their own miniatures.

From amateur to expert

Many of these collectors, who began as amateurs, have since developed into experts on the history of civilised man. They have progressed from the lead soldier stage to a study of what now seem idyllic periods of antiquity. They present thumb-size personalities from those times in dioramas they have made themselves. Indeed, no limits seem to be put on the inventiveness of this hobby.

It is because this miniature world is limitless in sentiment and purpose that a centre is needed where, as it were, the strings of the puppets can meet. Years ago the Potsdam bookseller, August Bonness, set out to create such a centre.

Bonness found a home for lead figures of every description and from every age in the vault of the former Hohenzollern residence, Plassenburg, in Franconian Kulmbach. Today, this collection is under the protection of the Bavarian castle administration authorities and under the personal care of Hans Stösslein.

Every two years—this year again—experts and amateurs, collectors and onlookers climb the steep hill to enjoy the hospitality of the town of Kulmbach, a mixture of delight and admiration. From the top they look down on the smoking stacks of Kulmbach's famous breweries and then wander amonong the 200 illuminated, glassed-in dioramas containing 20,000 miniatures from the chapters of world history, representing the famous and the nameless, the leaders and the lost.

From America and New Zealand

At the last Kulmbach get-together collectors turned up from as far away as America and New Zealand. Together, they study, compare and contribute. Those who have seen these people chatting within walls that enclosed the Bavarian prison a century ago know the Spitzweg type of artist has not died out.

The Plassenburg collection opens near the entrance with the shrewd women of Weinberg who were allowed to carry out of their besieged city what was nearest to their hearts. They carried out their menfolk on their backs. Surrounded by excited children Hagenbeck's famous circus enters a small town. Hamburg's carpenters and the Hummel himself were presented to Plassenburg.

Bismarck rides through his Friedrichsruh. Servants stand rooted to the spot.

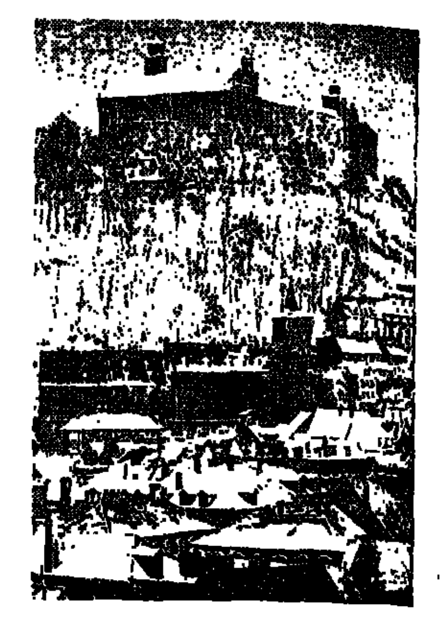
Goethe is discovered with Napoleon, every inch a Prince among Poets. Old Fritz is having a good time in Sanssouci, and the British King and Queen pass through the Brandenburg Gate on a state visit in 1909 when women wore bustles.

If Hans Christian Andersen could visit Plassenburg, he would probably return secretly at night to remove the glass cabinets and work his magic. Perhaps he could summon Rommel's troops near Tobruk to free those poor witches being tortured with tiny glowing pokers.

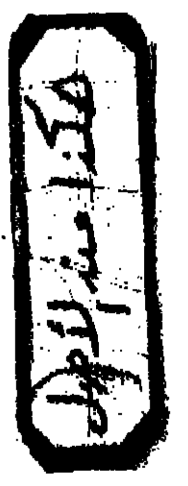
Or he would plot secret romances between the grim bearded Assyrians and the dancing ladies of the rococo period. Perhaps he would offer the beautiful Helen of Troy an opportunity to escape on the world's first bicycle made in Bad Cannstatt in 1873. It is in the diorama next to hers, graceful and natural in tin. The few hundred years separating Helen from the bicycle would not worry Andersen because he was a poet.

In the same way time spans do not worry the collectors who give as much care and attention to their miniatures as if they directing a wondrous pageant. Nor does time worry Donovan, the singer of protest songs, who renders the story of the tin soldier so delicately that one has the urge to snatch him from the fire and save him for his pretty ballerina.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 4 January 1969)



Plassenburg near Kulmbach in Franconia
(Photo: Wilhelm Rauh)



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 4 February 1969
Eighth Year - No. 356 - By Air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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Kremlin harmony apparently is not so harmonious

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

What is going on in Prague and Moscow and between the two is a matter for conjecture, but whatever lines of thought are followed the conclusions to be reached cannot be anything other than breathtaking for Western observers.

In Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, students, workers and large sectors of the population, aroused and regalvanised by the suicide of Jan Palach, are increasingly fomenting unrest and protest against the Soviet occupying forces.

Inevitably this protest is directed not only against the declared friends of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia but also, to some extent at least, against leading party and government politicians who since the Soviet invasion have been engaged in a despairing attempt to rescue as much of the reforms as possible without giving the Soviet Union cause for further tough action.

In Moscow, on the other hand, the Kremlin leaders, who must differ on ways and means at the very least, are having to look on as all their attempts to normalise the situation in Czechoslovakia are nipped in the bud.

The attempted assassination of Russia's cosmonauts, shots that may well have been meant for the Soviet leaders, is not necessarily the first visible sign of serious opposition to the present leadership but may well be so. It will certainly make the general public think and the leadership more nervous than ever.

In both Prague and Moscow the powers that be are in an extremely difficult position and both are directly influenced and may even be threatened by the behaviour and reactions of the other.

The Prague leaders are, of course, in a far more dangerous position, but the consequences for Moscow are far more serious and far-reaching. No one can say at the moment how the new American administration would react to a second use of force in Czechoslovakia.

Maybe President Nixon would be caught unprepared. Maybe, to begin with, he could take only half-hearted action or none at all. But there can be no doubt that the new US President could not forget and forgive a humiliation in his first few weeks in office.

Gone would be the talk of peace in Mr Nixon's inaugural address. The only response Washington could allow itself to such a slap in the face would be a fresh turn of the screw in arms expenditure and policies motivated by the gravest mistrust.

The Kremlin will, of course, realise how America is likely to react. Soviet use of force in Czechoslovakia runs well and truly counter to the famous hundred days grace that even Moscow generally allows newly-elected American Presidents.

It is not out of the question that Prague too is counting on these hundred days. This would, for instance, explain why dogmatists with close ties to the Soviet Union have made violent speeches in party and government bodies but progressive politicians have then been elected.

It would also explain why freedom of the press has been increased rather than restricted and why men such as Ota Sik and Eduard Goldstücker were recently invited by the government to return to Prague.

But this general rule on which Prague may be counting only holds good provided the Soviet leadership acts in a half-way sensible manner. The question that has been worrying observers of late is whether the Kremlin is in a position to do so or if so, for how long.

The Soviet empire is by no means run at the touch of a button like an enormous machine, as simple souls used to imagine and yet simpler ones still do. The Moscow correspondent of *Le Monde*, one of the best newspapers in the world, recently published a book entitled *Power and Impotence in the Kremlin* in which convincing proof is given that after the death of Stalin and even Nikita Krushchev's heyday a continual power struggle took place at the top.

Alliances change from one week to the next, at times even in the course of a few days. All foreign and domestic policy decisions bear witness to the continual in-fighting. Sober considerations of Soviet raison d'état frequently play a quite minor role.

Victor Zorza, *Guardian* specialist on Soviet affairs, has just proved that in-fighting is still rife over whether or not nuclear war is possible or meaningful and whether the armed forces should prepare for the eventuality or a disarmament agreement with the West should be sought.

Is it overstepping the mark to assume that there is a group of military men and party officials with similar views in Moscow who argued in favour of the most primitive and apparently easiest way out, the use of force, prior to 21 August?

Might not the same group, alarmed by the latest developments in Czechoslovakia, advocate a root-and-branch solution, regardless of the consequences? Or might they not even expressly favour the likely consequences, such as a torpedoeing of the disarmament negotiations with the United States that may well have first been proposed by their opponents in Moscow? Disarmament is bound to represent a threat to the power of the military and their comrades-in-arms.

Might it not be, when all is said and done, that a domestic victory on the part of this group is a likely result of fear of innovations such as even from Czechoslovakia represent a continual threat to the domestic policies of the Soviet Union, that the forces of reason and progress will continually be weakened and the use of force abroad automatically gain greater support for force at home?

At the moment these questions cannot be answered. No one knows whether the crunch will come in Moscow or between Moscow and Prague or whether, after a period of crisis, the outcome might not be completely different. But these are questions that must be asked in order to grasp the extent of possible danger.

Hans Gerlach
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 25 January 1969)

When you have made your own bed you must lie on it!
(Cartoon: Klaus Pielert/Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger)

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Spreading violence baffles the smug Russians

Handelsblatt

Something run-of-the-mill in the West but out of the ordinary for the East occurred in Moscow when, during the triumphal procession of the Soyuz 4 and 5 cosmonauts through the Soviet capital, shots were fired.

As so frequently when certain events occur in the Soviet Union, speculation has been rife. Were the shots meant for the cosmonauts or for Brezhnev and Podgorny? Was it a political conspiracy? — Questions to which no answer will be forthcoming.

Reference to hard facts is more to the point. Of late there have been a large number of reports about capital offences in the Soviet Union. Even leading public figures have suffered. A member of the CPSU central committee was assaulted, world-famous violinist Igor Oistrakh was robbed and now shots have been fired at the cosmonauts.

It is clear enough in the West that growing prosperity does not mean the end of crime. The reverse is the case. Evidently it can also be said of Socialism that a more highly-developed communist system does not by any means mean the end of crime either.

As a result the Kremlin is bound to try to halt developments by employing the harshest of methods and measures. Personal freedom of the individual citizen is always the loser. It would probably be wrong to draw any other conclusions from the shooting.

(Handelsblatt, 27 January 1969)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Oriental traditions ill-fit our society

Western press comments on the death of Prague student Jan Palach, who set himself alight in Wenceslas Square on 16 January in protest against the suppression of press freedom, have been full of ingenious arguments about the growing influence of Far Eastern views in the Western world.

No matter how much one may sympathise with their political motives, these living torches, so the argument went, run counter to the moral substance of the Western world and should best be banished to the limbo of non-mention in the press. This, it was maintained, is the only way to offset the emotional ballast.

The technique of self-immolation by fire must, of course, be seen in the light of Oriental philosophy and politics; otherwise the whole idea would be incomprehensible.

There is a long tradition of people setting fire to themselves in Indo China. It has been done in protest against quite trivial measures—a change in the highway code, for instance.

The cold wind of utter foreignness that comes from acts of this kind makes it easy to forget how many "Chinese methods" have become part of everyday politics of late without the slightest protest in the name of European tradition.

Nowadays hardly anyone worries unduly about university debates in which, along the lines of Chinese village assemblies, the intellectual authorities are not only criticised but systematically humiliated and broken at the roots of their intellectual existence.

Many people even seriously believe the Quotations of Chairman Mao to be the ultimate in wisdom, even though the Quotations are, from start to finish, feeble tautologies and banal political truisms.

It can hardly be the Oriental origin that has given rise to feelings of horror about these spectacular suicides in Europe.

The horror seems, in fact, to derive from recollections of days gone by when people still risked their lives in the West for political or philosophical ideas and sacrificed themselves if need be. Nowadays people no longer die for ideas.

Sacrifices have become unfashionable and the martyr figure has occasionally even been cast in an almost comic light. Life is unquestionably considered to be the highest of values—often enough only one's own life.

We have not grown more humane by virtue of no longer being prepared to sacrifice ourselves. In discussions with youthful Western revolutionaries it is a constant source of amazement that they manage with such rhetorical ease to dispose of the lives of others.

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Callow youths with the first signs of facial hair and well-groomed girls who have never in their short lives seen anyone die a violent death generally reckon with anything up to 20,000 couter-revolutionaries going the way of all flesh in the decisive battle.

It is no coincidence that Georges Bataille and the Marquis de Sade have become best-selling authors and posters with the picture of Jürgen Bartsch, a butcher's apprentice from the Ruhr who was sentenced to hard labour for life for the particularly brutal murder of four young boys, are selling like hot cakes.

In the face of such cheerful sadism the self-sacrifices made recently by young Czechs and Slovaks assume the dimensions of the writing on the wall. Yet at the same time they bear witness to a humanity that has not been seen in Europe for a long time.

Would it not have been far easier to launch a fatal guerilla war against the occupying forces? Does not the worth of a hero depend on his having caused the death of a large number of enemies rather than on having himself died for his country?

But Jan Palach obviously did not want to be a hero. By setting himself alight he showed even in death who is the hangman and who the victim in Czechoslovakia today. His death was symbolic and understood as a symbol all over the world, particularly by his own people.

Even so, the fact remains that a people cannot accept a sacrifice of this magnitude. A deed such as Jan Palach's cannot fail to have dire consequences. Easilyled characters with some private reasons for being prepared to die see this gigantic torchlight and in no time at all a political demonstration could assume ludicrous proportions.

It is well-known that the self-immolations of Buddhist monks in Vietnam in 1966 led others to follow suit and degrade a tragedy into a farce.

It can only be presumed that all reasonable people will want to save Czechoslovakia from experiencing comparably macabre farces. To this extent there can be nothing but wholehearted agreement with President Svoboda's appeals for common sense to prevail.

The living torches of Prague, Pilsen and Brno should, on the other hand, certainly make those think who view Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia as nothing more than an unfortunate accident and are now on the point of ignoring the fate of a humiliated country in order to get on with the business in hand.

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was not merely an unfortunate accident. It has brought about a complete change in the political landscape and in the eerie light cast by the human torches the gloom appears yet gloomier.

Günther Zehm
(DIE WELT, 12 January 1969)

Nixon side-steps making sweeping promises

The 37th President of the United States has taken the oath of office. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of this change at the top is that Richard Nixon has taken over without having a slogan at hand for the new era America and the world are now entering.

Roosevelt had his New Deal. So did Truman. President Kennedy had his New Frontier and LBJ his Great Society. President Nixon has no such visions or reform programmes.

In retrospect it could well be said that this lack of glowing visions of the future was one of the reasons why he won the election campaign. His election was, if anything, proof that America is tired of being ushered into a great future and marched into new worlds.

The new President has been sparing in his promises. The few reform proposals he has made are modest in comparison with the mass of programmes, projects and reforms begun by his predecessors, many of which turned out to be abortive.

This atmosphere of caution and circumspection at present corresponds more to the general feeling of the man in the street than do fresh visions of happiness.

What is to be expected of an administration that lacks the stimulus of reformist enthusiasm?—This is a question that is prompted less by the impression conveyed by the new administration than by the frame of mind of people who view official measures, government initiative and the employment of comprehensive Federal bureaucracy as a panacea for the problems of society.

The vision, if any, conveyed by Richard Nixon's assumption of office is one of continuity in dealing with events and a sober response rather than a crusading spirit. Liberal commentators even have, when all is said and done, reached the conclusion that what America now needs more than anything else is a period of rest and reappraisal.

In a society such as the ones with which we are familiar government programmes are not the hub but merely one of the spokes of the wheel of history. In a major society the individual parts—individual people and the many institutions — are wheeling constellations that attract and repel as in a magnetic field.

And in this great arena of national life the people are pinning their hopes on President Nixon. He promised the electorate to reunite the country. The voters believed him and voted for him.

The months that passed between the election and his assumption of office have shown that Mr Nixon has kept this promise in mind and is well aware of the obligations it imposes on him. It is not an easy task and words alone will not solve the problems outstanding.

The war in Vietnam, the continuing crisis in the Middle East and racial troubles in the United States itself are all problems to which there are no straightforward solutions and sectors in which reason counts for more than either money or state power. In both foreign and domestic policy, to paraphrase Walter Lippmann's words, these problems must be cut down to a size at which it can both be coped with and seen as a whole.

For the time being, then, we abroad must not expect too much of the new US President. The stuff of conflict is around in plenty; more need not be added. Ending the Vietnam war and endeavouring to find a formula by which to take the sting out of the Middle Eastern crisis will call for the utmost in effort.

At the moment the situation in the Middle East present greater problems than does Vietnam. The Paris Vietnam talks have progressed far enough for agreement to be reached on the shape of the conference table, whereas in the Middle East the increased activity of the Soviet Union and the counsel of Governor Scranton, Mr Nixon's special envoy, to stand more aloof from Israel have set a new note.

The caution with which President Nixon can be expected to approach foreign policy problems gives cause to recall fear of the isolationism that is reputed to be a feature of the Republican outlook. It is immaterial that neither President Nixon nor his administration are accused of isolationism. Sweeping generalisations have a long life, as every German well knows, and accusations of isolationism will be one of the crosses the new President will have to bear patiently.

For the time being Mr Nixon does not see it as his duty to pursue an active international policy. He cannot embark on a succession of fresh commitments if he is to fulfil the hopes placed in him by the American people.

As he said at the inauguration ceremony, "We have had enough dissent and division. What we need now is a period of recovery, a period of renewal and realistic hope."

Gerhard Hirseland
(Industriekurier, 23 January 1969)

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Chancellor disappointed at Paris-Rome developments

It takes enforced optimism to conclude from the diplomatic comings and goings between Bonn and Paris that there are hopes of a lasting improvement in relations between France and this country.

While Bonn and Paris arrange meeting after meeting ex-Premier Pompidou has made it clear, in Rome of all places, that France and Italy are in fact closer together than either of them is to this country. For both the industrial might of the Federal Republic presents a problem.

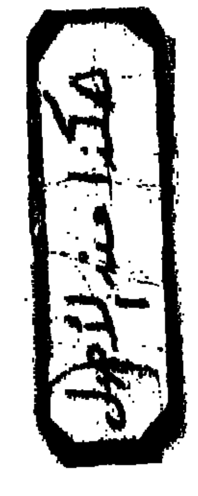
Statements to this effect were made after close consultation between M. Pompidou and General de Gaulle, the visitor from France also making it clear that he is prepared to parley with other governments in the near future.

The embarrassing way in which the Federal government views ties with Paris as a special relationship does seem to be less and less to France's liking.

Understandably enough Chancellor Kiesinger, who began by making a determined effort to woo Paris, must be disappointed to end the present legislative period with relations with Paris in as depressing state as under his prodecessor, Dr Erhard.

Enthusiastic Europeans, of whom there is a considerable number in the Social Democratic parliamentary party, are likely soon to take the opportunity of casting light on the outcome of this aspect of Bonn's ties with the West.

(Handelsblatt, 22 January 1969)



■ HOME AFFAIRS

Bonn's in-fighting for nominations for the next elections

Preliminaries to the election campaign, the fight for candidature in constituencies and for nomination to the political parties' state lists of candidates, are now underway. In many a smoke-filled room the individual parties will decide who to present to the electorate; and internal skirmishing for a place on state candidature lists is in full swing.

Bundestag veterans face stiff competition for nomination as candidates. Someone who has been a member of the Bundestag for twelve or even sixteen years can no longer regard re-election as a foregone conclusion. It is already being said that some members have been in Bonn too long.

Of course, the Bundestag is not a council of elders, as it has often been described; and there are quite a number of younger members in the present Bundestag. But it seems that this sixth Bundestag election will put more members out of work at the pre-election stage when candidates are selected.

In fact, this pre-election forestalls the actual election in the case of safe seats for a particular party or secure places on state candidature lists. Willy Brandt, for example, who will be the first name on the Social Democratic Party's (SPD) candidature list in North Rhine-Westphalia is, therefore, already assured of his seat in the next Bundestag.

Similarly in a constituency where a Christian Democratic Union (CDU) or SPD candidate gained sixty or seventy per cent of the votes in the last election, the relevant party's candidate has virtually been elected to the Bundestag as soon as he is nominated.

This certainty can lead to carelessness in the selection of candidates. Anyone who thinks that his party is bound to get the mandate in a particular constituency, may think that it does not matter whom the party nominates.

Does the individual candidate really affect elections that much? There is no doubt that there were once Adenauer-voters and Erhard-voters, and the CDU now hopes there will be Kiesinger-voters. These electors who vote for the chancellor's party because of the figure of the chancellor demonstrate the importance of personalities in elections.

However, this country's two-vote electoral system—the first vote going to the constituency candidate, and the second to the state list of one political party—seldom produces a marked difference in the number of votes for a constituency candidate of a particular party and for the candidate's party as a whole.

It is still exceptional for voters to give their first vote to a candidate who does not belong to the party to which they give their second vote, because they prefer this candidate to their own party's selection—that is they vote for the personality and not for the party.

Members of the Bundestag who can claim to have been personally elected in this way are always, and justifiably, proud of the fact, but there are not many of them. Usually, votes are cast for the candidate of the party which the elector supports, even if another party's candidate is personally more attractive.

Success or failure on the part of a political party in Bonn decides the success or failure of constituency candidates, and indeed this is much more important than personal popularity. Therefore, it is all the more vital for each party to build up a good potential parliamentary party through its selection of candidates.

But a good member of a parliamentary party is seldom a "constituency king" as well, someone who puts in an appearance at every local event and is as well known in his constituency as he is unknown in the Bundestag. These local politicians tend to be very conscientious about constituency work, but their seats are often vacant in the Bundestag committee rooms.

On the other hand, members who work hard in Bonn are often told by their constituents that they do not bother about their electors and do not visit their constituencies nearly enough. Thus, before every Bundestag election party chairmen wonder anxiously whether experts in their party, who are indispensable in the parliamentary sphere, will be re-elected.

What is said during parliamentary sessions and in the deliberations of Bundestag committees about draft legislation is obviously quite different from what is said at election rallies. And a member, who is respected by all parties in Bonn, will not necessarily be popular at constituency level. There are many perspectives to personality voting.

However, parliamentary democracy stands or falls according to the quality of the elected assemblies. And right from the start, the selection of candidates influences this quality considerably.

It cannot be helped that selection is limited straight away because some people, who would make good Bundestag members, do not stand for election. All political parties have at one time or another made vain attempts to persuade prominent public figures, whom they would have liked to nominate for the Bundestag, to accept candidature; but the individuals concerned have refused because they cannot pursue parliamentary and professional careers simultaneously.

But despite all local and affiliation difficulties, the selection of candidates must solve the problem of choosing the most suitable people for the Bundestag from would-be candidates. Complaints about the quality of the Bundestag demonstrate that this problem has not yet been solved satisfactorily.

Criticism of many members is unjustified, but this is not always the case. Of course, the Bundestag cannot be a gathering of over five hundred "wise men of the nation."

Alfred Rapp
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 January 1969)

Eugen Gerstenmaier takes the only way out – resignation

Because of the outcry against Eugen Gerstenmaier, President of the Bundestag, during recent weeks, he had no option but to resign. Gerstenmaier did not take long to reach this decision. By drawing the appropriate, bitter conclusions, he has rendered a service to the nation, to his political party and to himself.

Neither his friends nor his opponents will deny him respect for having made this decision. This attitude is certainly not a matter of course, as previous examples demonstrate.

Even Gerstenmaier's opponents do not maintain that he twisted the law in pursuing his compensation claims. The question of whether the Bundestag President had committed a legal offence was explicitly denyed by the Free Democratic Party (FDP).

The point at issue was whether his behaviour was politically suitable; it was a matter of political style. The way in which this Swabian politician, who desperately wanted to be called a professor, allowed his own temperament to get the better of him and lost his self-control at a decisive moment is not without its tragic elements.

Gerstenmaier was the representative of the legislature and was always quick to defend the dignity of the Bundestag, but nothing annoyed his own party and the general public more than this unexpected outburst against the alleged shortcomings of this country.

Was the politician who gave vent to these criticisms — when concerned with a personal matter — the same person who never missed an opportunity to appeal to civil dignity, national loyalty and an iron sense of responsibility and who warned against the temptations of spineless consumer thinking?

The avalanche of accusations could not be halted by apologies after the event. So once again Eugen Gerstenmaier proved to be his own worst enemy. Even his own party had not expected such a wave of antipathy, but the political chain reaction probably explains why the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) did not avoid the issue but tackled it unashamedly.

Gerstenmaier was one of the inner circle of CDU politicians. His name was frequently mentioned as a candidate for senior posts such as chancellor or Federal president. It is understandable that the CDU intends to issue a full statement on the political services of this highly honoured man, who has now fallen so low. Whether or not Gerstenmaier's critics will be convinced by this statement is another matter; they could interpret it as a means whereby the CDU can distance itself from Gerstenmaier.

The statement is based on the report by the lawyer Güde who confirms, as regards the legal aspects of the case-and to this extent the report agree with the findings of the Social Democratic Party's special commission — that, firstly, the Bundestag President's compensation claim "conforms with the law," secondly that Gerstenmaier did not influence legislative procedure to his own advantage, and thirdly, that he exerted no more influence on the investigation of the case than would be expected of any other member who submitted a motion.



(Photo: Archiv/Bundesbildstelle)

However, perhaps something more should be expected of the Bundestag President as against any "ordinary" member? This was the point at issue when it came to evaluating the case in political terms. But people should beware of the temptation — particularly in this election year — to initiate a series of wrangles aimed at settling accounts ("An eye for an eye...") and hence invalidating the beneficial effect of the decisions reached in Bonn.

In his short speech to the parliamentary party, Gerstenmaier asked all those whom he is said to have injured during the course of the years to be indulgent. These words also show discernment. Though many people may feel disappointed, Gerstenmaier's resignation has not only clarified the situation but has also created new respect for the parliamentary system.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 January 1969)

Our first woman ambassador

For the first time the Federal government has appointed a woman ambassador: at the beginning of March, Professor Ellinor von Puttkamer, the most senior female official in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, will take over as leader of the Bonn delegation to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Up to now Ellinor von Puttkamer has been senior diplomatic adviser and director of the UN desk at the Foreign Office.

She was born in 1910 in Karzin, in what was then Pomerania. At the age of 26 she wrote her thesis on a subject relating to recent Polish history. Ellinor von Puttkamer is regarded as an expert on Polish affairs in the Foreign Ministry. She is one of the few Federal Republic diplomats who speaks Polish.

After a brief period in the Ministry of Justice, Ellinor von Puttkamer started work at the Foreign Affairs Ministry in 1953. From 1956 to 1960 she was a member of the Federal Republic observer delegation to the UN in New York. Then she took over as head of the UN desk at the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 January 1969)



(Photo: dpa)

LABOUR RELATIONS

Reform in the Confederation of Trade Unions

BY KURT GSCHEIDLE

Kurt Gscheidle, SPD Bundestag member and assistant general secretary of the postal workers' union, was unanimously approved as successor to Ludwig Rosenberg by the heads of the 16 member unions of the Federal Republic Confederation of Trade Unions. Rosenberg intends to retire in May as chairman of the Confederation because he has reached retirement age.

Anyone who rejected reform of the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions (DGB) or considered reforms unnecessary, would have to be satisfied with the present situation as regards representation of employees' interests. The continued discussion both inside and outside the DGB about reform shows that this satisfaction does not exist.

This raises the first question: can the present DGB representatives be held responsible for criticism levelled against the DGB? I do not think so. When comparing present circumstances with the era of the DGB's highly respected first chairman, Hans Böckler, it must be remembered that he held office at a different stage in the democratic reconstruction of our nation.

For numerous reasons his voice was given more weight in the political sphere than the voice of the current DGB chairman. On this point, the vital question must be: could these men represent the interests of officials, salary- and wage-earners more effectively by means of different organisational and working methods? My answer to this question is affirmative.

In the first place, it must be remembered that many of the difficulties within the DGB are due to uncertainties about its tasks and limitations. Only when trade union responsibilities have been clearly defined will it be possible to evolve a viewpoint, which would enable unanimous statements on the solution of problems to be made.

This is not merely a question of unequivocally defining the trade unions' attitude to our social system; it must also be made clear how the unions themselves interpret their position in this social system.

In my opinion, the reason for the obvious difficulties in defining responsibilities and attitudes is the clumsiness of decision-making mechanisms within the DGB. As with all other large organisations, it has proved impossible as yet to develop modern means of policy-making, which would enable the leadership to react swiftly to topical events and still be assured of the agreement of all member organisations.

The attitude to institutional methods has hardened; standing orders are overemphasised. As with all enterprises, the trade unions pay too much attention to indirect responsibilities and not enough attention to tasks which directly concern them.

The second question involves the organisation of the DGB. No one can be satisfied with the present mongrel organisation. It would be politically naive to assume that it would be possible in 1969 (that is twenty years after the founding of the DGB) to persuade individual unions, which have gained independence, to renounce rights and responsibilities in order to strengthen the DGB.

These omissions cannot be made good. But it would be possible to change the emphasis; however, such a change would have to concentrate on how the DGB can carry out its executive role in the face of the increasing strength of individual unions.

In my view, this would mean that confused organisational forms with their imprecise definition of responsibilities would have to be eliminated. At top level the sixteen unions belonging to the DGB should discuss fundamental political issues; the agenda should not be burdened with lesser matters, and a very small Federal, administrative executive should act according to the decisions reached by the senior DGB body.

The necessary regional and local branches should be similarly constituted. Independent action on questions covered by fundamental decisions or policy programmes should no longer be permitted. The activities of regional and local branches should be based on a principle of authorisation, instead of on elections. Officials with full powers would be appointed by the Federal executive of the DGB and nominated by the relevant bodies.

This kind of organisation would have to be backed up by standing orders to the effect that at DGB congresses, the only decision-making body, motions could only be moved by individual unions, the Federal executive and Federal committee.

Kurt Gscheidle (Photo: dpa)

This leads on to the third question: what responsibilities should the DGB with its subsidiary organisations accept on behalf of all trade unions? Here, four groups of activities seem to be particularly significant: firstly, social policy; secondly, political education; thirdly, youth work; and fourthly, public relations in so far as professional questions concerning individual unions are not involved.

Without delay, the DGB Federal executive and the top-level bodies of all individual unions should commission reports on social policy. The purpose of this exercise would be to prepare material for establishing and investigating the social standpoint of trade unions.

Youth work, as the prerequisite for future united action by many groups of employees, should be based on local organisations and should introduce young people to the social problems of employees and teach them to achieve solidarity.

Public relations, which at the moment consist of a confusing variety of announcements by individual unions and by the DGB, should concentrate on the four fields of activity already mentioned; in addition the aim of public relations should be to provide all communications media with comprehensive information in good time on the trade unions' desires and their attitude to current affairs.

Moreover, stronger co-ordination between economic and social policy is absolutely necessary. This could be achieved by more authoritative representation of trade unions on DGB co-ordinating committees. These committees would work out recommendations for each session of the DGB executive.

The working methods of the Trade Unions' Economic Affairs Institute (WWI) should also be changed. One of the duties of this institute should be to draft clear and concise statements as an introduction to discussions, which could be effectively used in the course of deliberations on social policy (that is on worker-management participation, shorter working hours, savings incentives etc.).

The fourth question concerns the influence of trade unions as opposed to political parties and legislative bodies. The growing trend towards a two-party system enables the trade unions to exert greater influence on the two major parties. At present too much emphasis is placed on the tradition that, on the whole, the unions and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) are united.

Hence, every political failure by the SPD unleashes criticism against the party. The trade unions should also express their views on the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and should react to failures on the part of any political party.

(Volkswirt, 17 January 1969)



A century of trade unionism celebrated

For two reasons 1969 is a jubilee year for the trade unions. At the end of January the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions (DGB) is to celebrate in West Berlin to mark the century-old tradition of the German trade union movement.

At the beginning of May the DGB will celebrate its own twentieth anniversary during the course of the 5th Federal Congress in Munich. One hundred years of German trade unions, twenty years of the DGB—on the threshold of the second century of trade union history and after twenty years of the Federal Republic, there is good reason to inquire into the external and internal situation of the unions belonging to the DGB.

As far as the external condition of the DGB is concerned, it should be remembered that during their long and changeable history member unions have never before enjoyed so much public respect or wielded such assured political, social and economic influence as they do today.

The visible and invisible power of trade unions in the Federal Republic has been frequently assessed and just as often criticised: this power extends from the right to implement direct authority within the framework of wages autonomy and the considerable representation of trade unions in the legislature, executive and judiciary to their legally assured influence on social self-administration, worker-management participation, as established by the law on factory constitutions and participation in the mining industry, and their participation in Concerted Action, and to their direct economic power which often finds ironic expression in large union-influenced industries.

And last but not least, trade union power represents the 6,4 million paid-up employees to whom the DGB constantly refers when making policy statements—if it does not claim to speak on behalf of all employees.

But however imposing the façade of trade union power may appear, the alert observer will note numerous cracks and much threateningly dilapidated masonry. Thus, for example, the membership figure of 6,4 million—which at first seems very impressive—cannot hide the fact that as yet the DGB has only succeeded in organising a minority of workers and moreover an exceedingly variable minority.

During the past fifteen years DGB membership has gone up by about eight per cent; but during the same period the number of employees has increased by fifty per cent. This is typical of the DGB's dilemma. And it is obvious what will happen if the DGB's recruitment drive fails to attract salaried staff and young workers—its industrial organisations threaten to become superannuated workers' unions.

The lively activity of the unions which do not belong to the DGB—the salaried staffs', officials' and police unions for instance—demonstrates that it has not been possible to realise the concept of one union for each industry. This factor is particularly distressing for the DGB since there are many indications that in future the importance of professional organisations will not only increase in the self-employed sector.

Thus, the organisational structure which was initiated twenty years ago according to the principle of industrial unions has long been questionable—especially because the individual unions in the industrial field have not succeeded in gaining the support of the growing host of salaried staff.

On the contrary, the DGB has recently aroused considerable aversion amongst important groups of senior salary-earners, for example, because of its worker-management participation campaign which concentrates one-sidedly on the interests of trade unions and wage-earners.

But it is not only the principle of one union per industry which has become questionable, but also the relationship between the DGB and member unions. Hence, more and more trade union critics are reaching the conclusion that the DGB as a mere umbrella organisation without the power to fix subscriptions or take part in wage negotiations suffers from a severe weakness.

Although the need for DGB reforms at the top and on subsidiary levels is scarcely disputed any more, this does not alter the fact that a few powerful trade unions are taking advantage of the present organisational crisis to block all efforts to introduce reforms.

And so it is no wonder that up to the time of writing no notable trade union leader has shown any interest in the highest post which the trade unions have to offer—the distressing embarrassment over Ludwig Rosenberg's successor has already exposed the DGB to ridicule.

The obvious dichotomy between the DGB's external splendour and inner misery does not only reflect organisational shortsightedness but also a contradictory attitude to the role of the trade unions. This contradiction is particularly apparent in that many DGB officials still do not know whether they should regard their union as a social, ordering factor or as a social, revolutionary movement.

And although the constitutional state established by Basic Law offers the unions possibilities of development which they have never enjoyed before, many unionists still do not know whether they should identify themselves with or fall out with this state and its social order. It is hardly surprising that, as DGB unions are uncertain about their own attitude, they are unable to project political conviction or attract new members.

Wilhelm Braun

(Industriekurier, 21 January 1969)

SOCIAL WELFARE

Hans Katzer's mini-reforms are not entirely adequate

GRAND COALITION MUST ACT

Since he took office Minister of Labour Hans Katzer has been worried by the possibility that, like his predecessor, Theodor Blank he might fail to settle the question of reforming health insurance. Fo three years Hans Katzer hesitated to tackle this tricky subject.

Now it seems that his tentative effort to combine the introduction of full sick pay with a partial reform of compulsory health insurance is in danger of being dismissed. But nobody should deceive themselves: full sick pay will come in time. However, the basically inadequate attempt to adapt health insurance to the changed economic and social conditions could again, for the third and final time, come to nothing. This should not be allowed to happen.

Anyone who thinks that the proposal for full sick pay can again be blocked by demands for comprehensive reform of health insurance, does not realise that since the formation of the Grand Coalition the political emphases in this country have moved to the Left.

At least on this point, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) is determined to assist in the realisation of trade union demands. For the purposes of the election campaign the SPD wants to be backed by the unions to the full. And the trade unions have virtually issued an ultimatum as regards full sick pay. They are blustering and threatening.

They have linked the fate of Karl Schiller's Concerted Action with the demand for full sick pay. This has nothing to do with rational social policy since the employee's social security will not be improved by the introduction of full sick pay. But arguments count for little when ideological concepts are at stake. The trade unions are under the illusion that full sick pay would put the wage-earner on the same social level as the salary-earner.

For the time being the SPD is calmly watching the clarification of the Christian Democratic Union's (CDU) attitude to this issue. The more the CDU argues against itself, the more electoral capital the SPD will be able to make on the sick pay issue. For more than ten years the CDU has stated in its political programmes that full sick pay is a good thing. It is true that all CDU documents also say that full sick pay can only be introduced in conjunction with reform of the health insurance system.

But some time ago the CDU deserted this virtuous path when Katzer was given a free hand to try and work towards reform. But on the Left-wing many people think that full sick pay is more important than reforming health insurance. Bundestag social welfare committees have agreed to toe the party line on worker-management participation, if efforts are made to initiate full sick pay instead.

The CDU will not want to snub the unions twice in an election year: once on the question of full sick pay and again as regards worker-management participation. If appearances are not deceptive, the only outstanding question is whether full sick pay should be introduced on its own or in conjunction with a partial reform of health insurance.

But salary-earners who feel that their status is threatened, management and employers who would have to dip into their coffers, and politicians who are convinced of the necessity for comprehensive reform, do not even want to discuss Katzer's proposals. The trade unions and health insurance organisations are grousing about the proposed repayment of contributions.

Only doctors have given the proposals muted approval since it became clear that their rights would not be affected. But too much criticism and moaning about Katzer's minor reforms plays into the hands of those who simply want full sick pay. Now the best thing to do would be to make the most of Katzer's suggestions. It is important that starting-points for later, more comprehensive reforms should be created. The urge to introduce reforms must remain.

The proposals for repaying contributions are unsatisfactory; a more expedient procedure could be adopted. But they would nevertheless be a step in the right direction. Back payment could encourage the realisation that social security is not free. Anyone who does not submit a claim to his health insurance firm, would be rewarded.

This principle could be worked out more effectively: back payment should amount to more than fifteen Marks. The objection that back payment places an additional burden on health insurance organisations does not carry much weight. Only those insured persons who submit claims would be worse off; the others would benefit.

Repayment of contributions would be the first step towards eliminating the worn-out solidarity principle. Of course it would also be an advantage if doctors had to adjust to the fact that patients are directly involved in the cost of treatment. But repaying contributions is not enough. This should be complemented by sensible percentage payment by the insured for medicines. This would help to stop the misuse of tablets. Plaster, cottonwool and other household goods should no longer be paid for by health insurance organisations.

But all this still has very little to do with a reform which must bring about reasonable participation by the insured and complete clarity as regards cost. Nonetheless, it would achieve a degree of progress in the outdated doctor's certificate system.

It would look bad if the Grand Coalition could not find the courage to introduce a semi-reasonable, partial reform. There has been talk about reforms for the past decade. Anyone who can do no more than introduce full sick pay after all this time, would be giving himself a pretty poor political report.

Walter Kannengiesser

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 January 1969)

DGB official provokes participation opponents

Unexpectedly, the argument about worker-management participation has again come to the fore. Fritz Berg, president of the Confederation of Federal Republic Industry, has clearly stated what chronic illness this country's economy is suffering from: on this occasion he was provoked by trade unionist Werner Hansen, who dropped a bombshell in a Düsseldorf speech.

Berg chose to retaliate with the claim that Hansen's "threat" could lead to a general strike or even to revolution. What did Hansen in fact say, and what did he really mean?

Hansen, who is a member of the Federal executive of the Confederation of Federal Republic Trade Unions (DGB), declared: "In Europe, on the border of the Communist sphere of influence, there is only one alternative to qualified worker-management participation—and that is nationalisation of the means of production."

And he went on to say: "Anyone who tries to obstruct with all available means, participation by employees and their unions should not complain if an increasing number of people regard expropriation without compensation as the inevitable answer to industrialists' claims to absolute power."

These are shocking words, certainly calculated to offend opponents of worker-management participation and wide sections of the general public as well. Although the overt impression that the DBG was threatening to indulge in economic radicalism may not have been unwelcome to the speaker, Hansen did in fact express himself rather more cautiously than may appear.

Strictly speaking, Hansen's comment about the only alternative to qualified worker-management participation was not a challenge, but simply a false statement. There are several alternative means of achieving the DGB's objectives, if logic and reality are taken into consideration.

For example, the present state of affairs is one such alternative, and then there are the suggestion of this or that political party or association. The second sentence quoted earlier is pretty hypothetical. It plays with the idea of bitterness amongst the public; if bitterness should arise, then anyone who is now advocating participation should not complain.

So much for what the trade unionist actually said. However, such close examination hardly alters the overall impression; and this is catastrophic. From a tactical point of view, calling to mind the theoretical possibility of complete socialisation of the whole economy and using the expression "nationalisation of the means of production" was the stupidest thing a supporter of worker-management participation cuold have done.

Opponents will argue that qualified worker-management participation is a crafty means of achieving nationalisation, that the unions claim to represent the interests of employees but their real intentions are quite different, and so on.

Defenders of the principle of participation would counter: more rights for employees, if sensibly granted, would endanger neither individual firms, nor the economy, nor society; on the contrary they could be of general benefit. What the majority of the population regard as sacred and hallowed rights would not be affected in any way.

And then along comes Werner Hansen and gives a provocative speech, which is intended to make a lot of people break out in goose pimples; and to all appearances he admits to intentions which his opponents have always claimed he was pursuing. Employers can rub their hands and say with one voice: Hansen has let the cat out of the bag.

Of course, an official is at liberty to emphasise the DGB's demands. But since it is a difficult enough business to make extended worker-management participation generally acceptable and to get it through parliament, it would be like shooting into one's own goal if the DBG frightens the public with hidden threats and veiled implications.

Hansen has done an disservice to the DGB and to all those who support worker-management participation. Once again an incredible lack of political awareness has made reformers look like radical revolutionaries.

Something can be praised, but also damned to death. If it became generally accepted that even rational extension of participation should be approached cautiously because supporters of new regulations were obviously irresponsible, then employees would have wasted their efforts.

At the same time, a new kind of participation which respects ownership and certainly does not aim to achieve nationalisation is conceivable. People should not necessarily think in terms of nationalisation when alternatives are mentioned, but should remember that the status quo could be maintained.

Roswin Finkenzeller

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 January 1969)

Politicians give politicians a rise in pay

Several issues are involved in the discussion which has suddenly arisen over the second amendment bill to the law governing officials' salaries. One point, which has so far been stressed by parliamentary parties, is that officials' salaries are linked to the salaries of the chancellor and ministers, and similarly expenses paid to members of the Bundestag are dependent on ministerial salaries.

It is certainly true that it was inappropriate to establish this link. However, it was approved by the legislature even though the legal paragraphs were drafted by officials.

The second point concerns the question—which has unfortunately received all too little attention to date—of whether it is appropriate in view of the present situation in the public services, and at this particular point in time, to increase the salaries of officials at department head level and above by between 10.8 and 14 per cent, while increases of 3.1 to 5 per cent seem to be considered adequate below this level. It must also be remembered that the salaries of many senior officials would go up by an average of forty per cent.

A few tentative comments have been made about this point, but not many and above all no clear statements have been issued. If the Federal government really feels—for whatever reasons— that it is necessary to increase considerably the salaries of senior officials, then why is this not being done openly?

If there really are convincing reasons for the increases, then they could be publicly explained and backed up by convincing arguments. The question mentioned above leads on to the third point, which has not been discussed at all as yet.

As was demonstrated by Minister Carlo Schmid's obvious uncertainty in the Bundestag committee—and he is not alone in this uncertainty—bills involving higher salaries are in practice drawn up by senior officials and decided upon for the Cabinet, who would be the main beneficiaries of the bill, which is now before the Bundestag.

Politicians should have a good hard think about this situation. The political annoyance caused by this bill will not be eradicated if Bundestag members simply renounce the above-average salary increases.

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 18 January 1969)

■ THINGS SEEN

Willi Baumeister's Wuppertal drawings on display

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN

Willi Baumeister, of whom Fernand Léger once said that he represented "German art of international standing", was eighty years old on 21 January. To mark the occasion and encouraged by Heinz Rasch, a Wuppertal art collector and friend of Baumeister, the Von der Heydt Museum is displaying about sixty of Baumeister's drawings, which were executed in Wuppertal. The artist's family have also contributed some works.

This review of Baumeister's range of subjects and form covers the years 1936 to 1944, including examples from the years when this prolific artist was not allowed to exhibit publicly in Germany. The fact that these works were done in Wuppertal is linked with commissions, including advertising commissions, which Baumeister and also Oskar Schlemmer completed for a local paint factory.

Younger artists currently regard the works Baumeister drew in the 1920s and his constructivist "sporting pictures" as topical. The clearly delineated shapes, the contrast between strict outline and linear composition, the carefully graded emphasis of volume and the exploration of area confirm and support the ideas of some modern artists.

The Wuppertal museum is exhibiting works from a later period, which was typical of the time when Baumeister had to work in secret and which nevertheless allowed him—one of the outcasts of that time—full artistic freedom.

Baumeister's freedom was an achievement dependent on his penetrating intellect. In his works completed between 1936 and 1944 he demonstrated for himself and for others the "salvation of pictures." The *Eidos* works literally confirm this.

Baumeister did not protest or make a terrific fuss; he did not kick against authority. His metaphysic—indeed the more familiar one becomes with his "concrete" art, that is art which relies purely on artistic means, the more metaphysical implications come to light—was linked with a spirit of the age, which stimulates and applies to all cultures.

Although he was fascinated and not merely stimulated by the forms of ancient cultures, Baumeister was definitely a man of his time. Aspects of Spanish cave drawings, Aztec art and Chinese calligraphy were metamorphosised by his creative imagination, given new life and transposed into a period when art only mattered if it "served the people," that is suited the purposes of contemporary authorities.

In his works, suffering on account of injustice, his sympathy, becomes so distanced as to be practically incomprehensible. He associates form and idea with a world which only begins after the period of classical myths.

Gilgamesch and *Enkidu, Eidos, Reliefbilder, Felsbilder, Fadenfigur, Ritzzeichnung* are the themes and titles of works dating from this period. His form exists in regions which presuppose a conception of the unknown. Baumeister set out to explore this unknown. In so doing he plumbed deeper depths than the surrealists, though his work occasionally touched upon the Surrealist sphere.

The unknown as salvation, verification, loneliness, as the unfamiliar which paradoxically enables one to become familiar with its strangeness, the island and the universe, the insignificant and the infinite are all characteristic of Baumeister's pictures.

His book *Das Unbekannte in der Kunst* (The Unknown in Art), which is scarcely read today, will probably celebrate its golden hour at a later date—when fascination with the real world gives way to disgust again and the way is opened up for a new sensibility.

It would be wrong to think that Baumeister cut himself off with this work. He conceived *Mauerbilder, Felsbilder* and *Reliefbilder* as integral parts of architectural projets. He was unable to realise these works because he could not find a sponsor.

The poetry of Baumeister's figures gave the "unknown" an almost indefinable form. His art, open to all influences, to every change, interpretation, secret, but also to every misinterpretation (even if only as decorative art) defied a world, which at the time was becoming increasingly hard: seeking, perhaps even promising, salvation, and establishing new methods in this intellectual world: sand pictures, comb strokes, separate, fragmentary elements which move almost weightlessly in space.

Up to now Baumeister's works have possibly been regarded too much from an aesthetic viewpoint. He made ethical demands of a work of art. In *Das Unbekannte in der Kunst* he writes, "The artist is not simply tied to the substance of the world. His 'centre' is in itself the 'substance of the world,' and the world's conscience and sense of responsibility."

Baumeister regarded the artist's position as decisive, absolute and non-manipulable. Today, we all have good reason to take him and his works seriously.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 13 January 1969)



Willi Baumeister's drawing 'Eidos' done in 1939
(Photo: M. Abel-Menne)

Mavignier in search of order

When asked why he, a Brazilian, lived in this country Almir Mavignier replied, "I found sufficient progress in Brazil; I came to Germany because I was seeking order." The Brazilian national flag bears the motto "Order and Progress."

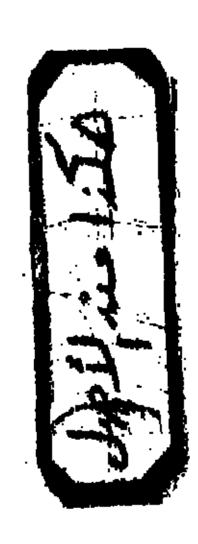
Almir Mavignier came to Ulm in 1953 and since 1965 has taught at the Hamburg college of art. And the Hamburg Kunsthaus has organised an impressive exhibition of his works.

Mavignier swears by the dot, just as Josef Albers—another Ulm teacher, along with Max Bill—is devoted to the square. Almost fifteen years ago Mavignier painted his first work based on dots and thus found his major theme. Since then he has varied the technique in numerous pictures and graphic series without exhausting this method, without tiring of the idea and becoming unimaginative.

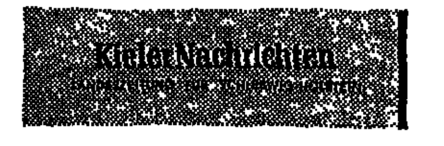
In the context of the picture the dots are exactly calculated to produce a certain effect. The bigger the dots, the clearer the structure because the artist marks them with the head of a nail and then gives them shape. "The three-dimensional form of each dot gives the whole structure a light and a shady side. This play on light produces an optical mixture of colour and light with a variable effect, if the intensity or direction of the light is altered."

This is not pointillism of the old school, which sought to capture flickering light and simulate a mood. But Mavignier's pictures also have to be completed by the eye of the beholder who, standing at a suiteable distance, recognises fluctuations: crosses, circles, squares, concave and convex variations, "broken surfaces" and deformed forms.

(DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT, 12 January 1969)



Max Slevogt works shown in West Berlin



Max Slevogt, the painter, was born on 8 October 1868 in the Bavarian town of Landshut but he only found his individual style after he had moved to Berlin in 1901. Like his friend Corinth, he had previously studied in Munich and Paris. In Berlin these two painters associated with Max Liebermann, and the three of them were the leading lights of German Impressionism, a term which is certainly an inadequate description of the artistic content of their works.

However that may be, in Berlin Slevogt soon became a central figure of the city's artistic life. To mark his hundredth birthday two major exhibitions primarily documenting Slevogt's graphic works have been organised in West Berlin.

Of these three painters, Slevogt was least bothered about the problems of art. He drew and painted like other people breathe: swiftly, light-heartedly, with an untroubled mind. He found anything technical easy, indeed almost too easy.

His best works, for example *Trabrennen* (1907) and his pictures from the world of opera—he was highly musical and was constantly attracted by operatic subjects—are masterpieces which succeed in capturing a fleeting mood, a characteristic gesture or a momentary smile. However, in his lesser works the facility of his brushwork often amounts to ingenious carelessness.

With Liebermann and Corinth, graphic oeuvres are overshadowed by their paintings, but Slevogt's graphic works are just as—if not more—important than his pictures. His development as a graphic artist is, in no small measure, due to the Berlin publisher Bruno Cassirer who persuaded and commissioned him to illustrate such books as *Ali Baba*, Cooper's *Lederstrumpf, Faust II, Macbeth* and numerous volumes of fairy-stories.

Slevogt's love of Mozart found expression in his marginal sketches for *The Magic Flute;* these are utterly suited to Mozart's composition because of their rich imaginativeness, their realisation of a situation and their pleasantly light touch.

Slevogt's imagination was fired by any story which was even faintly exciting. It is possible that in later life he himself realised that illustrations, telling sketches and the fluid technique of lithography were more suited to his impetuous temperament, which tended towards improvisation and carelessness, than painting.

In any case, his later works include more illustrations than paintings. There is no need to regret this development, quite apart from the fact that his illustrative work continued an old, respected tradition, featuring such names as Menzel and Chodowiecki.

Towards the end of his life, when a severe illness caused him great distress, this eternal Sezessionist and habitué of the Romanischer Café retired to Neukastel in the Palatinate. In Neukastel, Slevogt laid down his brush and his pencil for the last time in 1932.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 11 January 1969)

■ THEATRE

Max von der Grün play at Ruhr festival

Great God, Bachmann, don't shoot at us too! Anti-authoritarian Socialism is also on your side. This is not the only quotation (in this case, taken from Rudi Dutschke's letter to his would-be assassin) which Max von der Grün includes in his revue with the provocative title, *Notstand oder Das Strassentheater kommt.* He borrows from many writers from Klopstock to Matthias Claudius, and adapts a fair selection of popular songs to suit the play.

The premiere of von der Grün's first play in Recklinghausen's Ruhr Festival was planned and rehearsed with the manager of the Westphalian Landestheater, Hans Dieter Schwarze, and his group. The play was awaited with some apprehension since the preceding spectacle with public rehearsals and discussions on the so-called mini-revue had given rise to grave doubts.

The revue is not a stunning affair by any means. Max von der Grün, who worked for a while as a miner in the Ruhr, received his quota of boos and whistles from the left-wing intelligentsia. But his play also deserved the applause it received.

The evening's success owed much to the stagecraft of Schwarze, a man who knows what he is about. A spirit of bemused tolerance was created, a sense of humour that smoothened the rough edges of the language and the dialectic unpretentiousness of the play.

Max von der Grün took up a hot iron with careless, almost naive vigour, namely, the misunderstandings between the working community and intellectual students that have driven a deep wedge between them. Add to this the generation problem between parents and their children.

The author lacks the ability to overcome the language barrier, however, and fails to present his problem very articulately. But the airy form of the revue comes to his aid. He recruits a group of streets actors and presents a play within a play, not in the style of Pyramus and Thisbe but as a sketch on the story of *Notstand,* or emergency, in the working-class family.

How the play-acting inadvertently becomes reality is the significance of the otherwise meagre plot and its aggressive barbs. The students show how Pankauke, a skilled worker who is celebrating an anniversary, reacts to the news, that comes during the celebrations, that his company is closing down and how he is persuaded, although warned not to do so, by a "stranger" to sell his option to his company-owned flat for 10,000 Marks. A second "stranger," not in the play within the play, a fringe figure in the revue, is meanwhile snooping around, a real estate speculator for another company.

The moral protest against actual conditions in the Ruhr is bound to confuse the spectator who is not so well acquainted with the problems of this area. This protest seems to shatter the light structure of the revue.

Nevertheless, a problem is presented here which actually exists. That it is presented in an entertaining, free-and-easy and musical form is no reason why it should not be understood. Schwarze's production, his well-timed exits and entrances and masterful direction of the chorus, is as full of the true dramatic spirit as the musical arrangements by Heinrich Huber, who excels as a mime, and adept at the piano and drums, assisted by Rainer Christian Mehring. Together, as narrating clowns, their performance was splendid.

Barbara Klein sang a chanson memorably. The stage and costumes were by Frank Chambers. Rainer Zimnik's open-air theatre posters were the subject of many couplets and burlesque scenes, as when the students discover the real worker and kneel before him begging his friendship in a formal song.

The discussion after the premiere was marked by aimless attacks on Max von der Grün and little else besides. The author keept cool at all times. He easily countered stupid arguments that instead of offering some solution flirted with both sides, the workers and the students.

To the charge that he was hedging and dodging both sides, von der Grün asked in return: Since when has a playwright to be a preacher or a finder of solutions? Since when must he personally proclaim the revolution on the street?

The author said he wanted to present a situation that would encourage reflection. He wanted to do this with a grain of humour, which is today sadly lacking in political discussions. This is certainly true. Ernst Bloch, the philosopher, made the same remark once to Rudi Dutschke, the student leader.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 January 1969)



A scene from Max von der Grün's 'Notstand' revue
(Photo: W. P. Hassenstein)

50 glorious years of publishing

DER TAGESSPIEGEL
UNABHÄNGIGE BERLINER MORGENZEITUNG

Walter de Gruyter & Co, West Berlin, the renowned publishing company, is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. De Gruyter considers itself Europe's largest publisher of general scientific literature.

Shortly after the First World War, for economic reasons, the publishing houses of G. J. Göschen (founded 1785), J. Guttentag (1853) and Veit & Co. (1834) joined the association of publishers headed by de Gruyter. They did so "the better to be able to serve science and research."

This enormous publishing combine has since published what seems like an endless list of medical, scientific, legal, theological and philosophical works. The present catalogue lists 15,000 titles.

Among the most noteworthy publications are the *Klinische Wörterbuch* edited by Professor Willibald Pschyrembel, a photographic reproduction of the famous academic edition of Kant's works in nine paperback volumes, Ziegenfuss's *Philosophen-Lexicon* and the *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte.*

De Gruyter also publishes some 25 scientific journals.

(DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 9 January 1969)

First Nuremberg biennale

The theme of the first Nuremberg Biennale will be "Constructive Art—Elements and Principles." It will be open from 18 April to August 1969.

The exhibition will feature 65 artists from eighteen countries. Official contributions are expected from Brazil and the Argentine. Among the Eastern European countries to be represented are Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Contributions from the Soviet Union and Poland are also expected.

For the first time in exhibition history in this country parallel exhibitions on the same theme will be held between April and August in West Berlin, Munich and Coblenz. The Nuremberg showing will include works by Josef Albers, El Lissitzky (Soviet Union), Max Bill (Switzerland), Georg van Tongerloo (Holland), Frantisek Kupka (Czechoslovakia) and Lajos Kassak (Hugary).

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 January 1969)

Volker Schlöndorff on filming Kleist

MICHAEL KOHLHAAS IS A MODERN TALE



The director of the film based on Kleist's story, *Michael Kohlhaas,* Schlöndorff, was interviewed by the *Münchner Merkur.*

Question: Was Kleist's story of the horse dealer who burned and pillaged his way through the country seeking justice and the return of two horses changed much in the film?

Schlöndorff: This is a film which tells its story from beginning to end. It has its meaning in the development of this story. What is modern in it is that the story takes an unexpected turn, but that's in Kleist who is more modern than most people imagine.

Question: How do you interpret Kohlhaas's fate?

Schlöndorff: Kohlhaas is destroyed because he tries to do what only an individual in a collective could attempt, to oppose a system as an individual. He does not condemn the system out of hand, but he doubts that it is functioning properly. He wants to reform it. He meets his downfall when he sits at a table to negotiate with the powers-that-be, who have promised him a fair hearing. But even if these people, representing the authorities, were well-disposed towards Kohlhaas, he would not be accepted as a valid interlocutor.

Question: In Kleist's novel Kohlhaas receives his two horses, but he is executed for his actions. In your film has Kohlhaas learned from his mistakes?

Schlöndorff: Kohlhaas in my film is conciliatory towards the end because he is given what he has fought for, but one cannot really accept this, or be of one mind with Kohlhaas. He is seen to die not as a victor but as a fool who was deluded, just as Mother Courage was deluded into thinking, up to the very end, that she was profiting from the war although she had lost her sons and daughter to it.

This was a major point in preparing the script. Was Kohlhaas to realise that he had been fooled or not? What has the greater impact on the viewer? What is more dialectic? Well, in our film he does not realise it, but the viewer does.

No character development in the story

Question: What moved you to film this story?

Schlöndorff: One of the essential things about *Kohlhaas* is that individual characters do not develop in it, instead the development of the story itself is exemplary. Kohlhaas could have been made into a portrait of a fanatic, but such a psychological portrait doesn't really interest anyone.

What is interesting is the relationship between this man and society. Kleist does not give a carefully differentiated picture of a simpelton, as his story is usually misinterpreted. Kleist is concerned with how the world reacts to his man. The contemporary aspect is not that there are many Kohlhaases walking around now (one could say that Dutschke is a Kohlhaas) but that the story develops according to mechanisms with which we are familiar today. For this reason we suggest nowhere in the film that the events are taking place in the sixteenth century. No particular time or place is specified.

Question: If we understand you properly your film follows Kleist's story closely?
Schlöndorff: I don't think that my *Michael Kohlhaas* can be considered a literary interpretation on film. My concern with Kleist was centred mainly in matters of style.

We used Kleist's climatic style, his shock images and the ellipses in his narration. These we incorporated in the script. I believe Edward Bond, with whom I wrote the script, hadn't even read the original story. He was only familiar with the forty pages of typescript that I had prepared.

(Münchner Merkur, 10 January 1969)

TRADE

Consequences of import-export measures

GOVERNMENT GRANTS FOR STEEL AND SHIPBUILDING

Despite all efforts to check subsidising industries, a new strong injection is to be expected of hundreds of millions of Marks which the Minister of Finance hoped to set aside resulting from the high export surpluses following legislation brought in to regulate foreign trade are to be reemployed for "structural" purposes.

Sectors especially threatened by cheap imports, for example, the steel and shipping industries, are to receive government grants. The decision to reduce the cost of imports is in this way to be made more acceptable to companies which may have to face a strong inflow of cheap imports.

These plans of the Federal government are not only short-sighted, they sabotage the objectives of the new measures to regulate trade. They also contradict other important aims of this country's economic policy.

With these latest demands for more subsidies the government is obviously banking on people's short memories. The quasi-revaluation by way of legislation reduces duty on imports by four per cent. The government now comes to the astonishing conclusion that at least certain sectors must be compensated financially to the extent of the drawbacks encountered as a result of the new legislation.

Clearly, what occurred in the months and years prior to the partial revaluation in November 1968 has been forgotten. Prices in the Federal Republic increased at a much slower rate than in other industrial countries. With rigid exchange rates it consequently became more and more profitable for foreign traders to place their orders on the relatively cheaper market here.

The discrepancies in national price levels gave Federal Republic manufacturers the edge over their competitors elsewhere. The semi-revalution therefore merely restored a balance that prevailed before international price levels began to deviate seriously.

It follows that in a long-term appraisal of the situation compensatory demands are unjustifiable. Besides, serious inflationary trends are even now working in favour of Federal Republic industry.

It is no accident that only a few industries, not including all those with high export quotas and facing keen foreign competition on the home market, have applied for subsidies from public funds. The quasi-revaluation is again pointing up structural weaknesses in the economy. These were concealed so long as the Mark was undervalued.

This undervaluation worked like an export bonus and a customs barrier which enabled even less viable Federal Republic firms to keep their heads well above water. The indirect revalution of the Mark has recently again revealed the relatively weak competitive potential on

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

international markets of some Federal Republic enterprises.

So long as the inferiority of Federal Republic manufacturers does not stem from patent subsidisation of foreign competitors government aid in the form of "structural" grants for industries confronted with a mounting stream of cheap imports are not acceptable.

Such grants are dubious for two reasons. Firstly, the government is undermining the very purpose of the new trade-regulating laws, namely, stimulation of imports and curbing the export surplus. The proposed subsidies would maintain for home producers the advantages they enjoyed as a result of the undervaluation of the Mark. It was to combat this imbalance that the government decided to tax exports and relieve the flow of imports.

If the new subsidies were intended solely to finance worth-while rationalisation projects, companies could just as well be advised to seek credit from banks. If non-profitable rationalisation measures are involved, however, government aid would be a gross miscalculation with disastrous results.

So whatever way these subsidies are regarded, they are redundant. Not only that, they are injurious to the economy as a whole.

If certain sectors of industry are granted compensation for losses they incur as a result of the government's plan to regulate trade and improve the international balance of payments, this is tantamount to protectionist policy. This is also the second reason these subsidies are inadvisable.

With government assistance productive forces in comparatively unrewarding and poorly situated industries would be sustained, although better use could be made of this money. Protectionist subsidies run counter to the growth objectives the government is ostensibly pursuing.

A growth-orientated economic policy must aim at removing existing weak links in the economy by helping to redirect the facilities of these links into more profitable lines of production. It should be the government's aim therefore to accelerate expansion of dynamic industries well able to hold their own on world markets and to rechannel productive sources that are in danger of being swamped by competition and which obviously need financial assistance into sectors that are better equipped to stay the pace on home and foreign markets.

If the government makes the mistake of mollifying industries affected by the November decisions by offering compensation in one form or another, the danger exists that good money will be wasted. The government's foreign trade policy is also inconsistent and contradictory because important items on the balance of payments on current account have been bypassed by the new trade laws.

These laws, for example, deny millions of tourists from this country, holidaymaking abroad, the benefits of a revaluation, a most unpopular measure. It would be difficult to say how much more Federal Republic tourists would have spent abroad if the purchasing power of the tourist Mark (and not only the purchasing power of the trade Mark) were four per cent higher than it was before November of last year. The fact remains, however, that a revaluing of the tourist Mark would have helped to reduce the foreign payments imbalance.

This also holds for direct investments of Federal Republic firms abroad. Variant trends in price levels on home and foreign markets curb capital exports which the Federal government is endeavouring to stimulate with other measures. Talk of the new legislation being able to be revised gives rise to additional imponderable risks for industrial enterprises, encouraging them to exercise greater pressure on the government to rescind the inconsistent and contradictory measures taken.

Many developing countries seen in the new export tax unfair discrimination. Further financial demands on the Federal budget from abroad are anticipated, although it is argued in connection with relations with the developing world that a revaluation, or a substitute revaluation, merely restores conditions such as prevailed before international price levels began to deviate.

The government is heading for deep water. The dubious substitute revaluation, and additional government revenue from export taxes, are drawing increased financial demands from domestic and foreign interests which will be difficult to ignore in election year.

The latest demands for grants lack justification and will inevitably lead to an unstable economic policy. The constancy or steadfastness of the Federal Republic, and especially of the Minister of Economic Affairs, Professor Karl Schiller, will be put to a crucial test in the months ahead.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 January 1969)

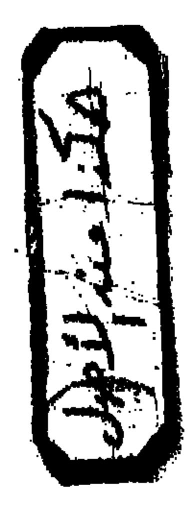
Investment record

Companies listed in the Union of Federal Republic Investment Funds last year increased their holdings by 1,530 million Marks. This was three times the 1957 figure.

In December alone investments amounted to 275 million Marks. This was a record peak for that month.

The number of investment funds in this country increased last year from 26 to 28. At the end of December a total 136 million investment trust certificates were in circulation. Total assets are placed at 6,200 million Marks, as compared with 4,300 million Marks in 1967.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 14 January 1969)



Where do all the profits go? — a good question!



All Communist and Socialist economic systems boast that their workers receive their full wages, including profits that would otherwise have been pocketed by "exploiters." Never has a satisfactory answer been given, however, to the question of the actual extent of these profits.

Now two attempts have been made to clarify this. They deserve careful consideration since they throw light to some extent on this vastly exaggerated problem.

The first study is that of Professor Krelle who set out to estimate industrial profits from overall income by comparing statistics on self-employed persons and their families, listed in the Statistical Year Book, with average income levels of employees. Professor Schreiber improved this method by co-relating the income of co-working family members with only half the average income of employees.

According to Professor Schreiber, earned income—employees' wages and employers' earnings—together represented eighty per cent of national income, as compared with 85 per cent, estimated by Professor Krelle. The remaining twenty or fifteen per cent is accounted for by interest returns and profits.

In this country therefore four-fifths to six-sevenths of all income is earned income. These estimates include all holders of savings accounts and private homes, listed as "capitalists."

Professor Schreiber in his breakdown of this figure comes to the remarkbable conclusion that business profits in 1965 represented 5.5 to 11.3 per cent of national income. The nearest estimate would be about 8.4 per cent. These controversial profits therefore represent only one tenth of the wage total, even in a peak economic year.

Profits during the recession were estimated at only 6.7 per cent of national income. This amounts to one twelfth of the wage total of the same year.

Comparing these figures with other economic results, it appears that profits represented about ten per cent of the wage total, seven to eight per cent of national income and five to six per cent of the gross national product at market prices. Professor Schreiber rightly asks whether this fairly meagre profit margin justifies a Communist world revolution.

An even distribution of profits among employees wages would result in a wage increase of only ten per cent. This is much less than the wage increases workers receive in two years in a medium-tempo economy.

A wage policy therefore that seeks to encroach upon employers' profits will lead nowhere. If overall profits represent only five to six per cent of the national product, monopolist profits cannot be very extensive.

Professor Schreiber concludes that these profits are a relatively small price to pay for economic freedom and productivity. The view that a perennial conflict of interests is waging between workers and employers over the equable distribution of profits is unfounded.

The higher the profits the more secure the employment. Since no investments are possible without profits, it is really the workers who are pleased when their companies show good results. Without profits therefore the self-regulating mechanisms of a free economy cannot function.

Most profits in industrial countries, in North America and Western Europe, are reinvested. They thus represent the motive force of industrial progress.

Communist countries cannot afford to pay out their entire profits in wages. They too must invest, and the extent of these investments determines the level of consumer income.

Whereas workers in this country can accumulate property and acquire an interest in the means of production by investing in stock etc., workers in the Communist world are excluded from ownership.

The slogan "owners of all the means of production" is with regard to the Communist worker's attitude to life and living standard as vague and trite as the knowledge is comforting for workers in this country that the Bundesbahn, postal, water and gas facilities belong to the public.

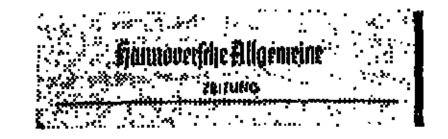
In future discussions of the development of this country's free enterprise economy, greater attention should be paid to the vital social and economic functions of the industrialist than has been shown in the past. Everything should be done to refute the inaccurate view that industrial profits are shamefully high, that worker income levels would increase appreciably if these profits, allegedly secreted according to Socialist critics, were distributed among the working community.

Hitherto, the system of free enterprise has proved much more rewarding and "economical" than any other form of management. The critics of the system should look to the facts before being so wild in their condemnations.

(DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT, 12 January 1969)

MANUFACTURING

Steel industry needs to take its courage in its own hands



Last year, the steel industry reached a new production peak of 41.2 million tons of natural steel. This represented an increase of twelve per cent over the previous year and ten per cent over the record figure for 1964.

Facilities were working ninety per cent to capacity. Maximum annual output is placed at 44 million tons. Counting repairs and replacements, the ninety-per-cent utilisation really represented full employment of capacity.

Orders were being placed well into December. Since mid-year, orders from home industry predominated. The order backlog increased from week to week.

Few are prepared to say with confidence that the steel boom will continue throughout 1969. Even with activity gaining momentum in most sectors of the economy, most forecasts expect a drop of one to two million tons in output. Attention is drawn to the fact that stocks of most manufacturing companies have by now been replenished after the recession.

It is also pointed out, however, that those who predicted a production total of 39 million tons for 1968, twelve months ago, were way out in their calculations. Although conditions are not quite as unpredictable as they were one year ago, experts may still find that they have underestimated demand in the New Year.

The first weeks of January showed no signs of a wait-and-see policy among buyers. Full steam ahead—this seems to be the prevailing mood in industry.

Full employment of facilities, and consequent savings in costs (which for a time made even low-price exports to third countries outside the ECSC seem worthwhile) tended here and there in the last six months to obscure the fact that profits have for years been anything but satisfactory. The price of many rolled items fell steeply in 1967, and hesitant attempts last year to reduce, even slightly, the high discount rates demanded were only successful for a time.

The steel industry seems meanwhile to have learned how to live with meagre profits. Under pressure from on-the-border marginal returns, which on occasion slipped into the red, companies pulled out every stop in their efforts to reduce costs. In this they were remarkably successful.

A wave of rationalisation measures, such as had not been witnessed since the last war, swept through the steel industry in 1968. Rationalisation in all departments: in organisation and administration, in handling and processing of raw material, in production and marketing.

Automation made deeper inroads into production processes, especially in rolling mills and blasting operations. It was not exceptional for ten to fifteen per cent of workers and office staff to be laid off. Most coal and steel companies last year reduced personnel expenses to their lowest mark for many years, although output and wages were on the increase.

Streamlining will also be an important factor in most companies' 1969 programme. It will be more than necessary to economise now because after a long interval wages in the steel industry are bound to take a jump next November. Existing contracts expire in autumn, and it is clear to management and the trade unions that the obligatory wage increase of two or three per cent will not suffice.

Non-coordinated investments present pitfall

One major pitfall for the steel industry this year could be that investments in the various sectors are not coordinated in time. In recent months, apparently under pressure from rapidly increasing demand, vast investment plans, often involving more than 100 million Marks, have been looked at again by some companies, although their implementation had been scheduled for several years hence.

The principle that new plant should be installed during a slump so that it can cope with demand when the boom sets in may have some truth in it. But it cannot be arbitrarily reversed. Companies that install new facilities during a period of brisk activity run the risk of not being able to utilise them fully in eighteen months or two years when they are completed.

Despite all favourable forecasts in the steel industry, it must be remembered that another steel slump is bound to come sooner or later, perhaps next autumn, perhaps next year or the year after. Farsighted planners, who have maybe more than once burned their fingers, never lose sight of this. They consider, for example, whether it would not be wise to create a capacity reserve pool instead of going ahead severally with the construction of new plant.

Such a reserve pool, which would surely be welcomed, not criticised, by the Brussels authorities, could represent a further step on the way towards inter-company cooperation which has developed sporadically rather than smoothly in the steel industry in this country. It would be fanciful, however, to expect 1969 to be a year marked by great cooperative spirit, or mergers, in the steel industry in this country or in Europe.

Guessing game about agreements

How long did it take, for example, before a non-committal report making suggestions was prepared on closer cooperation between the Salzgitter, Ilseder and Klöckner concerns? When the three will eventually come to some agreement is still anyone's guess.

Cooperation in the European steel industry, beyond national boundaries, will also probably remain a sweet dream in 1969. This is not to forget the link-up between Hoesch and the Dutch firm, Hoogovens, which is not, however, very close.

The century ticking away. The Japanese have announced plans for the use of nuclear energy in steel production. Representatives of several major steelworks in this country have for years been urging this change-over.

Does this country lack courage to go ahead like the Japanese? Would the expense be too much for the Ruhr, where two-thirds of this country's steel is smelted? Or is it that Federal Republic managers lack the essential zest needed to undertake such gigantic projects? Who knows?

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 January 1969)

Cooperation is no substitute for mergers



Suppose the director of AEG, Hans Bühler, announced at a press conference that his company wishes to take over Siemens on a stock exchange deal of, say, three AEG shares to two Siemens shares. The Siemens board immediately starts a counter-campaign, calling Bühler's offer "ridiculously low". Siemens promises its shareholders record profits and higher dividends. When AEG raises its offer, however, most Siemens shareholders are swayed, and Hans Bühler has won the day.

Such a transaction would be inconceivable? In Great Britain the take-over, in the autumn of 1967, of Associated Electrical Industries by the smaller General Electric was not much different.

True enough, however, such transactions do seem inconceivable in the Federal Republic, not only because a small company cannot assimilate a bigger concern but because any kind of aggressive merger policy is held in disfavour. Bankers and all those other highly respectable people would be shocked if open war were declared between two companies.

In many reviews 1968 has been called "the year of concentration". What has been actually achieved last year in this respect?

True, talks have been held and various agreements have been signed, notably between MAN and Büssing, AEG and Siemens and, recently, Daimler and Rheinstahl. Cooperation, however, is not a substitute for amalgamation.

Experience shows that such agreements aimed at increasing cooperation between industrial concerns are rarely as effective as full integration of hitherto independent firms, even when both sides have the best intentions and the cooperative moves are specified in detailed contracts. Again, even when companies segregate certain spheres of production and found affiliates with their competitors, the old egoism of the parent firm remains. Each group is jealously at pains to ensure that its own man gets the key position to forestall undesirable decisions.

Agreements reached on a cooperative basis therefore often result in full mergers after a period of time. Or both sides decide to split up again.

This country's managers are too faint-hearted and timid. Instead of buying up firms at home or abroad, they are content with agreements to pool resources on a limited basis.

The example of the steel industry should be a warning. The regional sales offices set up were welcomed as preliminary steps towards large-scale amalgamation. But not even during the recession has any such move been made.

One notable exception must be mentioned. The director of BASF, Bernard Timm, bought up six reputable companies one after the other, thus guaranteeing the expansion of his own concern and the dynamic development of the new interests. If a prize for the most courageous manager were to be awarded in this country, Herr Timm would surely have taken it last year.

Banker Hermann Josef Abs warned in an interview with *Der Spiegel* that this country's industry is poorly equipped to meet competition on world markets in the eighties and nineties. If the Federal Republic is not to be outstripped industrially, it needs more "agressive" managers, men like Bernard Timm.

(DIE ZEIT, 10 January 1969)

■ PEOPLE

Sensible eating and a healthy sex life for all

Frankfurter Rundschau
Unabhängige Tageszeitung

Käte Strobel, Federal Health Minister and Social Democrat, is anxious that people in this country should know how to be healthy in the later years of life. To this end the Minister has had drawn up a publication *to advise people over 60* what and how to eat so as to remain in good health. The publication is to be given away free of charge.

The announcement of the publication of this booklet comes immediately after a press release concerning a "sex atlas" to give information on sexual matters to young children.

Illustrated in colour the guide to sensible eating follows rules that the first chancellor, Konrad Adenuaer, adhered to.

Käte Strobel's tips for sensible eating are as follows:

- Moderation in eating
- Eat regularly
- It is better to have three light meals a day rather than three heavy ones.
- Vary your diet
- Enjoy your food and be thankful for it.

With some anticipation teachers, parents and school children themselves are looking forward to the appearance of the approved sex atlas for teaching children, which the Health Ministry under Käte Strobel is about to issue. Already members of the education and science trade union have welcomed the annoncement of the appearance of the atlas and commended the Minister's plan. A spokesman for the union has said that only when the work has been published will it be possible to pass an opinion on its suitability.

The "sex primer" should become a standard work in education in this country offering the young a means to a fuller life. The SPD Minister is keen to do away with old taboos. "Children who are to become adults one day should be informed of these matters in an unemtional manner," Käte Strobel says defending her decision to break through old prohibitions.

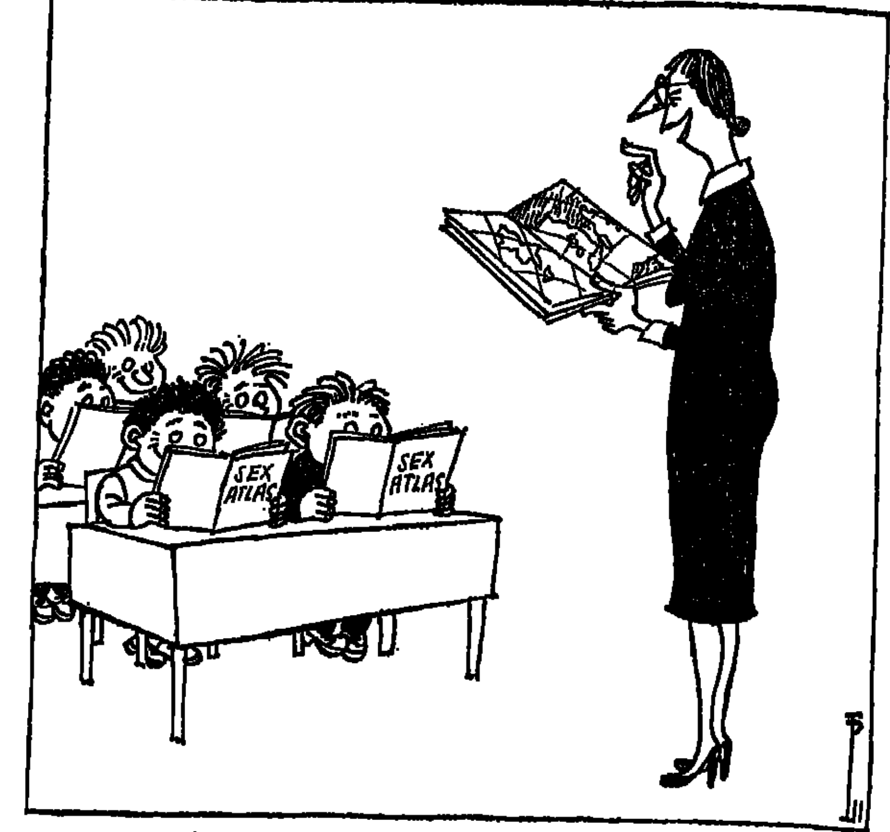
The atlas is to be used in Bonn schools in autumn this year. It has been compiled by a team headed by Dr Christa Topfmeier.

Criticism of sex education in schools in this country has been voiced by a member of the Bavarian state assembly, Dr Reinhold Kaub (SPD). He has examined many books used in classes and said that in his view they were quite inadequate.

Spot-checks have shown that school children are very interested in books that explain the mysteries of sex, particularly the work of the sexologist Oswalt Kolle. His book, *"Deine Frau, das unbekannte Wesen"* (Your wife, the unknown person) is hidden in many a school satchel. Young girls secrete between grammar and history books Kolle's companion volume *"Dein Mann, das unbekannte Wesen"* (Your husband, the unknown person).

In Käte Strobel's publication there will be *no fairy stories* about storks and the like. Twelve themes will cover the whole gamut of sex including family planning, birth control and finally The Pill. A section will be devoted to venereal diseases.

Sources close to the Minister have pointed out that the aim of this revolutionary method of offering sex instruction to youngsters is so that the younger generation will be offered assistance in time. The sex atlas is in line with policy statements that have been previously made by the Health Ministry as regards basic attitudes towards sex education in schools. The plans have been worked out in cooperation with Federal state education ministers so that the book is adequate in every way for the first classes in primary schools throughout the country.



'Now children, you all know where Middlesex is . . .'

(Photo: Peter Leger/Hannoversche Presse)

Six-year-olds will not be given possession of the book but will have it to follow lessons in class. The teaching staff will decide how best to apply the book to their teaching methods.

The book's illustrations are not like previous biological books in which men and women were delineated without sexual organs, according to the Health Ministry. According to Käte Strobel there will be no prudery in the publication and children will see clearly how the sexual side of life functions with *illustrations* and clear captions.

The Health Minister is in no way anxious about her plan to tackle the plan of sex education in schools. A spokesman for the Ministry has said, "The value of the way we are acting has already proved its correctness, referring at the same time to the film *Helga* that had Health Ministry sponsorship.

Käte Strobel was given a film award for this production, a Golden Screen. It is expected that Kate Strobel will be awarded the Film Bambi next.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 January 1969)

Don't blame The Pill

Births in this country are continuously on the decline, but, according to doctors, The Pill is not the cause of the decelerated birth rate. But where the blame can be truly laid is unknown to most laymen.

According to Dr Beukert of the Bochum health authority the younger generation today is much more enlightened.

Statisticians ascribe the decline in births to attitudes of those who were born during the war and immediately after the war who are only now reaching marriageable age.

These young people are much better informed about family planning and this is made obvious by the decline in the number of illegitimate births.

Before The Pill can be blamed for anything it would be as well to look at the infant mortality rate. According to doctors the number of babies delivered alive in 1964 was 1,065,437 but declined to 1,019,451 in 1967.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 January 1969)



Fatherless children have a hard time of it

MAKING ENDS MEET IS DIFFICULT

Children of women who live alone and have to go out to work have a much more difficult time of it than do children of the same age living in the protection of a full family. The women are also at a disadvantage in comparison with those who have the protection of a man in the house.

These two points were made in a survey, commissioned by the Ministry of Youth and Family Affairs, dealing with the problems that beset women who are alone.

If a woman is a widow, unmarried or divorced the main impact of this "unusual" family situation is felt by the children.

The survey reports that:

- Every second mother is away from home for more than nine hours each day. Every fifth child was alone during a working week for more than eleven hours daily.
- The number of problem children in family situations of this sort is far greater than in ordinary families.
- The children who live with mothers who are alone usually live in small flats and generally have to share sleeping accommodation with an adult.
- The children are usually unable to go off on holiday with the mother.
- Most of the children learn earlier than they should the problems of adult life.

From the statistics printed in the report it can be seen that 36 per cent of the children who are being brought up by the mother alone have school troubles. This figure is in comparison to 23 per cent in an ordinary family and 26 per cent in an ordinary family where the mother works. A general complaint made by all

Hamburger Abendblatt

the mothers who live alone was that their children were nervous. Added to this was a lack of concentration and troubles with school work. Then came disobedience and wilfulness.

But despite all these factors most of the mothers, 90 per cent in fact, said that they did not need the help of an educational adviser.

Generally speaking women who are alone and have to go out to work have little time for their children. As many as 65 per cent of the mothers questioned admitted that they had only about four hours per day for their children.

Acording to the survey 14 per cent of the mothers were unable to give any time during the week to their children under the age of 15. More than most mothers these women had to leave their children in kindergartens. Most of the older boys and girls were cared for from mid-day onwards by relations.

Most mothers supervise their children's homework. In "ordinary" families the father rarely undertook this. In cases where women were bringing up children alone the grand-parents usually helped in this way.

The survey pointed out that as regards home comforts in homes where the mother was alone that following points were noted:

- Whilst 34 per cent of families with a man in the household had accommodation of at least four rooms, in cases where women lived alone only 12 per cent could afford luxury of this sort.
- These women are modest in their aims in life. No more than four per cent wanted to own their own homes.
- Fifty-two per cent of them had a refrigerator in the house as opposed to 77 per cent of women who lived with their husbands. Twenty-nine per cent of the women who lived alone had a washing machine to make the housework a little easier as opposed to 52 per cent in the other group of women. Forty-three per cent of the women living alone had television—67 per cent of the group with a man in the house.

The survey reported that there are approximately 1.8 million mothers with children under the age of 18 who are employed. Approximately 240,000 of these women live alone. It can be be deduced from this that whereas only every third woman in a "normal" family situation goes out to work, 65 per cent of women who live alone must find a job.

When asked how things can be improved for working women and mothers, the mothers living alone answered along lines such as: "more favourable working conditions for women" and "governmental measures".

It was suggested that the problems of women with children going out to work could perhaps be solved if for every child under the age of three an allowance of 100 Marks per month were made. The comments to this suggestion were:

- 75 per cent of married women were of the view that this would be a good thing.
- 58 per cent of women who lived alone approved of this suggestion. The rest said that 100 Marks was far too little.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 11 January 1969)

■ SPORT

Men frown on the idea of athletic women

HEMMED IN BY WHALEBONES

"Our female students," says Professor Konrad Paschen, head of the physical education department at Hamburg University, "enjoy playing football now and again." The idea does not upset him in the least. "Why shouldn't they, if they enjoy it; and they naturally tend to play a happier game."

Men are as a rule against the idea of girls on the football pitch. Even in Britain, the home of soccer, men who take their football seriously take a dim view of women on the pitch. Women's football is just about tolerated as a humorous interlude; otherwise football is a sport for tough men only, and men take good care that their serious sport is not watered down.

A continual process of anthropological reorientation in which woman is permitted greater freedom is under way, but in sport an image of woman dating back to the *Ganzheitsmethode* in educational theory is persistently maintained. Woman is still seen as a welcome sight in man's eyes, a graceful guardian of home and hearth.

Woman on the football pitch is unthinkable. Why? Mainly for aesthetic reasons. No matter how much women may enjoy playing football the arguments of male logic are inexorable. Inroads into a typically male sphere are not tolerated. Regardless whether or not the sight of women playing football is aesthetically satisfying it is the men who decide what kinds of sport women are supposed to enjoy.



Watch out, girls, it is almost a goal!

(Photo: dpa)

"Woman's image," Konrad Paschen says, "is made by man. There can be no doubt that a man is not particularly keen to see the woman he loves engage in sporting activity."

The effects of the law of inertia on the historical development of women's sports have been serious, and to a large extent because man is defending against the weaker sex a domain in which he predominates by virtue of his more powerful muscles. The men's records that women have never a hope of equalling are proof of the second-rateness of woman's sport.

Despite the progress that has been achieved women's sport is still hemmed in by whalebones when it comes to wrestling new ground from men. The latest example of persistent prejudice is the decision taken by the Federal Republic Judo League about the many female judo enthusiasts.

The national executive yielded to women in finally allowing them to stage regular contests but prejudice shone through in the ruling that women may only take part in judo contests standing up. Fighting it out on the mat, it was announced, was both unaesthetic and unhealthy for women.

Konrad Paschen comments: "No sporting disciplines have recorded such an enormous increase in popularity among female students of late as judo and karate. The gentle art of self-defence by means of giving ground is a form of physical exercise that appeals to women and girls."

Judo standing up only amounts virtually to an attempt to cut the sport in two. It is as though long jumps of over six metres were to be forbidden for women.

As a social phenomenon of major importance sport nowadays has a function to fulfil of which the athletes of fifty years ago would never have dreamt. In common with the far-reaching changes that are affecting modern competitive society, sport is subject to strain and stress to which the worthy pioneers of sport, men who in some instances are still in control, are frequently no longer equal.

Women's sport holds pride of place among the many misunderstandings that hinder development. It is one of the spheres in which the cobwebbed clichés of an age long past continue to wreak their worst.

Annemarie Seybold, a lecturer at Nuremberg teachers' training college, concludes: "The idea that man has to think and care for woman, deciding the kind and extent of physical exercise she may indulge in, has its roots in history but the present state of affairs is that woman is emancipated and chooses her own sports according to her interests and inclinations."

The greatest misunderstanding of all is to imagine that girls are not interested in competition and would sooner indulge in purposeless free movement, to which the corollary is that gymnastics and dancing are the female sports disciplines par excellence.

Competitive sport is nowadays more suited than ever for either sex. Both boys and girls must be prepared for the demands modern competitive society makes.

The rhythmic dancing of the turn of the century was appropriate to the view then held of woman. Neither the view nor the forms of sport are valid today. If that is what female judokas want then they should be allowed to compete in a horizontal position.

(DIE WELT, 11 January 1969)

Ways sought to popularise ice-skating

Ways and means of promoting ice-skating in this country are being considered by the executive committee of the Federal Republic Ice-Skating Union (DEU). Eugen Romminger of Frankenthal, the DEU's sports organiser, has written a report that should be of major importance in the years to come.

Romminger begins by outlining what have, in his view, been the reasons for this country's poor showing in recent years. There is a shortage of training facilities and qualified officials in clubs and associations. Many trainors fall short of the mark because of inability to teach, lack of previous artistic training, lack of method in organising coaching and an unsatisfactory attitude towards their profession. Skaters do not train hard enough.

Herr Romminger feels that the ice-skating centre to be built in Oberstdorf is the most urgent requirement as things stand. Five million Marks are needed. "It is the only way to get ice-skating back on its feet," DEU president Fritz Geiger of Oberstdorf reckons. Eugen Romminger and national coach Manfred Schnelldorfer agree that this country has already missed the boat for the 1972 winter Olympics in Sapporo. Sights must now be set on the 1976 Olympics.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 December 1968)

Sports debate arouses little interest

There can be no forgetting the poor attendance at the Bundestag's first sports debate. At the time many people concluded that parliamentarians were simply not interested in sport but this view does not tally with the latest report from the Bundestag sports club.

In Olympic year 1968 twenty-four politicians took their sporting proficiency badge: fifteen in gold, six in silver and three in bronze. Ministers Strauss and Eppler and eighteen other Bundestag members have already enrolled to try again in 1969.

Eight hundred parliamentarians and party and parliamentary officials belong to the eight sections of the Bundestag sports club. It might well be concluded from this figure that politicians have grown more interested in sport. They certainly seem to enjoy taking part more than they do talking about the subject.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 January 1969)

Special sports facilities for keen national servicemen



Special sports training facilities for promising athletes on national service have been arranged by the 7th Panzer Division, stationed at Unna, Westphalia. The purpose of the training centre is to allow athletes to train regularly in order not to lag behind their fellow-athletes in civvy street.

National servicemen must be recommended by their sports associations. Press officer Major Otmar Rhein, on whose initiative the centre was established, explains: "We have received letters from hundreds of servicemen but at the moment we can only accommodate 42 men. To avoid trouble we are having to insist that sporting organisations do the selecting."

Clubs whose candidates have been unsuccessful and who have lodged complaints with the Bundestag commissioner for the armed forces or with divisional C/O Karl Theodor Molinari have had to make do with the assurance that other divisions intend to follow suit.

At Unna the chosen few, for the most part oarsmen, water polo aces, footballers and track and field athletes, train four times a week. In common with all other servicemen they have to perform service duties but as far as possible basic training and the like is restricted to the mornings, leaving a few men, particularly the footballers, with the opportunity of training with their clubs in the evenings.

(DIE WELT, 14 January 1969)

Aden	SA $ 0.05
Afghanistan	Af 10.—
Algeria	DA 0.60
Angola	Esc 1.—
Argentina	$ m n 45.—
Australia	10 c.
Austria	S 3.—
Belgium	bfr 6.—
Bolivia	$ b 1.50
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35
Bulgaria	Lev 0.05
Burma	K 0.60
Burundi	F. Bu 10.—
Cambodia	R 4.40
Cameroon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Canada	Can $ —.20
Ceylon	cR —.60
Chile	Esc. 0.60
Colombia	col. $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—
Costa Rica	C 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT $ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	11 d
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.80
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	50 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
Libya	50 Mills
Luxembourg	lfr 6
Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.50
Morocco	DM —.65
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	Hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.85
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.50
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.00
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 8.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.50
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	$ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Zambia	11 d

